

THAT
Great Expedition for
IRELAND

By way of underwriting propo-
sed, by both Houses of *Parliament*, and
Graciouſly aſſented unto by His Maieſty
is heere Vindicated

As

Pious,
Charitable,
Juſt,
Politick,
Proſperable.

And Obiections to the contra-
ry clearly answered, by one who heartily
wiſheth the ſpeedy promotion of this Propo-
ſition of underwriting, as almoſt
the only remedy.



Printed at London for Ioseph Hunſcorn. 1642.



Y how much I was
live of the princely
of the Kingdom
of my friends
which were there for

with the lions under the
Word of God
and many of them
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canon) how to my call
towards which I had
to call my friends

of both houses of
Catholics and Protestants
which they thought
of in this world which
which they thought

had their opportunity (what
is most certain) and that
the Lion and the Rose in
all that they with the Vul-

the Greek Apology, they
one might say the price of
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will soon change their

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As it had been a revolution
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Rev. 6.10.

Lupus est
 & fre-
 mens &
 fremens.
 Aug.

Iob 30.
31.

Exod. 3:6

Gen. 4-1

(2)

to starve his cause, but worse in a State. I know not whether it have been the fate or fortune of our late expeditions, that still our wings wanted impinge, just when we should have made an advantageous flight. Our late renowned *Deborah*, Queen being much perplexed with the bad success of her Irish affairs, sent over that expert Commander *Sir Roger Williams*, to find out the true reason thereof; who returned her Majesty a true report veiled in this homely story, of an Oxford man that bought a goose in *Dublin* for a groat, and a penie fagot to roast his goose, but his fagot was consumed by that time the goose was well warmed, so of necessity he was to buy another fagot, which made his goose begin to drop; and after that a third fagot; but because it cooled between fagot and fagot, his goose was little better: Then the man grew angry, and bought a whole groats worth of fagots together, and roasted his goose well in the turning of an hand. The application is easie.

The other rub was conceived to be the too much correspondence between some of the Commanders and the Earle of Tyrone, who would not stick in private to brag to themselves, how much they were beholden to him: Surgeons often prolong their cures, and beggars ordinarily mouth their sons for advantage. It would trouble mans mind to hazard his life, and for his reward thrust himself out of all his employment, unless he might be sure either of triumph at his returne, or a good Dividend out of the spoiles. Both these inconveniencies will be removed by this contract. The warre will not cool betweene one supple and another; the great and inferiour Officers will themselves become adventurers, which is a consideration of great weight, able to inspire valour into a pale liverd coward, when (as *Tacitus* said of *Catiline*s Souldiers) *Divitiis deperit glorie, libertatem patriamque claustrum patriæ*. When men beare their country, their riches, their portions, and their hopes in their right hands.

In a word, this proposition is a center wherein all the lines of Piety, Charity, Justice, Policy, and Utiitie do meet together. Hence is a cord not only threefold, but fivefold; almost as double as *Asa*s shield.

First for pietie, he that had viewed the beaten wayes to their Masse-houses, and the narrow paths to our Churches, in the most parts of *Ireland*, might justly have taken up that of the

Prophet

Prophet *Jeremy*, *The wayes of Sion do mourne, because no man cometh to the solemn assemblies.* Or that of our Saviour, *Wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction; &c. Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life; &c.* But this course if it be pursued, will spread Religion throughout the whole Kingdom in an instant, as the lightning which shineth in the East, and appeareth in the West. Next after the glory of Gods *hallowed* *holy Name*, we are taught to pray for the dilating of Religion *thy Kingdom come*: When the owner heard that the Lord had need of his goods, he presently let them go. *Lam. 2. 4.*
March. 7.
13.
 If there were no certain expectation of profit, yet in this case we ought to offer freely, and blesse God who hath given us means and hearts to lend unto him some part of his own store. When *Solomon* bestowed such an infinite masse of treasure upon the Temple, yet we read that silver was as common as stones in Jerusalem. *Matt. 21. 3.*

Next for charity. It was not without cause, when the Lord offered *David* his choise of three plagues, that he prayed, *Let me fall into the hand of the Lord, but not into the hands of men.* Their mercies are cruell; sure I am, the Irish mercies have been very cruell, like the mercies of a provailing goward, in cold blood to be cruell, without provocation to be cruell, to be cruell to that sex and that age (women and little ones) whom God would have spared even after peace, is rejected. *Chrom. 29. 16.*
1 King. 10. 27.
 To be cruell (extreme cruell) to that unarmed profession, which should it self be a protection; the Ministers of the Word of God; yet the garrison of the Philistines did not hurt the colledge of the Prophets. But for these butcheries there can be no reparation, *Numb. 35. 31.* except the blood of the murderer, he that sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed, without which the Land cannot be cleansed from the guilt of innocent blood; nay to be cruell even to the very four trees, which God expressly forbiddeth. *2 Sam. 24. 14.*
 To be cruell to the very wals and roofes, which the civill heathen did abominate. *Tully* calls it *nefarium bellum*; a wicked warre, which is made with wals, and roofes, and pillars. And *Livy* commends the Romanes, that having taken *Capua*, they did not tyrannise over the wals and houses. But it seemes these men despise to hold them themselves, and they would not have them to become receptacles for us. All this while I speak not of those goods and moveables which they took from the *Prote-*

Protestants, which in the space of ten weeks were estimated by a moderate survey at ten hundred thousand pounds. Then if it be a blessed thing to them to receive, what a blessing will this be to joyn such offices in the reliefe of so many desolate widows, distressed orphans, & banished persons. That very day that *Zacharias* made such a prayer, he heard, *This day is salvation come to his house*. And this likewise will be a second fruit of thy liberality.

Thirdly, for Justice, There are three grounds of a just warre. First, The defence and protection of the innocent. Secondly, The recovery and repetition of things wrongfully detained. Thirdly, The punishment and revenge of injuries received. Here all these considerations or rather obligations do concur. The persons to be protected, are brethren by Nation, by Religion, and by the same bond of subjection under a gracious Sovereigne. The things detained are their lands, their goods, their wives, their children, their friends, and whatsoever a man can call deare in this world: And not detained onely, but abused, famished, starved, and used worse than dogs. The injuries received are of all sorts, reflecting both upon soul, and body, and estate. So this Contract is pious, charitable, and just.

In the fourth place, it stands with the rules of good Policies. Is it not one cause of our distemper, that the head wants a due proportion of aliment, and is decaying out of proper course *sequestratum*? Now in respect of this is the lowest rated and most plained, and by consequence the least expectation of Elcheats there, by a probable *Medium*, which cannot much erre, this Million of money to be contracted for, will not take up above 25 or 2600000. of English Acres; and out of this will arise to his Majestie a constant yearly Revenue of 23000. l. or thereabout: To which all the rest of the Elcheated Lands being added, and improved in like manner, it will raise such a considerable Revenue as may in a great part ease the Subject of extraordinary Subsidies.

The poorer sort are yet sensible of the late charge of Subsidies and Poll-money, This course will free them, and transfer the burthen upon such as are both able and willing to undergo it, this will much quicken and accelerate the supplies; lesse bodies are more capable of sudden motions; by this means *Ireland* shall be speedily rescued before it be lost our right. If our enemies had the command of that back-doores, we should not long

long want them here. When the *Romans* had once gotten *Sicily*, they soon after invaded and gave Laws to *Africa*. You remember the old Proverbe, He that will *England* win with *Ireland* must begin. Let us defend *Aras* or *Focus*, our Region, our Religion, rather at a distance than at home. This will amplify and extend the power and glory of the *English* Nation; whilest men grow in a throng, on an heap, they cannot spread out their bowes at libertie, as they may do when they are removed and planted at a greater distance. There are two reasons why *Rome* did flourish more and longer than *Athens* or *Sparta*; the one by incorporating those whom they conquered with themselves, as the *Sabines* and the *Albanes*, by this means changing enemies into Citizens, which course succeeded prosperously to *Rome* the eighth, in the union of *Wales* to *England*. The other was their Colonies which they sent abroad when *Rome* was the Mistress of a great part of the world, their chiefest strength was in their Colonies, out of which the greatest part of their Armies were entertained. *nam subsidio insperant populi Romani fieri*, *such* *Lib. 27.* If this contract proceed with effect, I doubt not speedily to find another *England* in *Ireland*, and to see that old saying proved false, *Ireland* will not be reformed till the day of judgement. Former Plantations fell by drops here and there, *Romani in eis* *glares*, (that was the reason why so many of the old *English* degenerated and turned *Irish*.) They could not operate beyond the sphere of their own activity, but this by the blessing of God will presently give a settlement both to it self, and that Kingdom. Hitherto a great part of those who have gone over, have been poore Farmers, or necessitous persons, that were not able to make a considerable improvement. These contractors will be able to make it a gallant Kingdom forthwith. So you see Religion, Charitie, Justice, and Policy, are four great encouragements to subscribe this Contract.

But yet there is one wanting which is as much looked after in the world as any of them, that is, the smell of gaine, *Quid dabitur viro?* What advantage shall a Contractor reape by it? If there be a concurrence of this also, *Omne talis pactionem qui miset utile dulci*. Yet surely, be it spoken with all due submission to the All-mighty providence, in whose hand is the event of battells, and by his grace and blessing upon the just Armes

of his Royall Majestie, and his loyall Subjects, I doe not conceive the advantage to be much greater than a voyage into the Weiles, especially if we beginne with speed before they get forraine ayde, and not a velitation but a just warre.

It was the *Spaniane* error, that with Skirmishes rather than Battells, they taught the *Thebans* to become their Masters. Now if a man would set out one hundred pounds for the insurance of another, which were a great proportion, considering the adventure, yet the contract would beare it over and over again. To speak modestly within my compasse, That w^h might have beene sold for sixe thousand pounds within this yeare, a Contracter shall now have for lesse than one thousand pounds, besides the expectation of a mightie improvement by this plantation. So as it is cleerely the most gainefull trade that can be driven in this Kingdome in these dead times, and more secure than that which is *videntibus apra*, which hanges upon Cable-ropes, where his sacred Majestie, the honourable members of both Houses of Parliament, and the whole body of this Kingdome are so deeply engaged in the insurance. So I may twist this fifth thread of Profit, with the other foure, of Religion, Charitie, Justice, and Policy.

But weake eyes are offended with the light of the Sunne, Though this Contract be never so pious, charitable, just, beneficiall to the publick State, to private Contracters, yet the tooth of envie will not want something to bite at, nor the tongue of malice to barke at.

First, they say, Christ never planted Religion in bloud, when the Disciples demanded leave to call for fire from Heaven, to destroy the Cities that did not receive them, our Saviour answered, *Yee know not what spirit yee are of.*

Luk 9.54.

I answer in the first place, that this warre is not meerly as they would make the world beleeve, a warre of Religion, but mixt with other considerations. I omit the native and hereditary love of the *Irish* to the *Spaniard*, as to the root from whence they spring. I passe by the *Spanish* Pensioners in *Ireland*, among whom the Romish tributary Archbishop of *Cashell* was not long since questioned for one, and dismissed meerly for his simplicitie, as a more probable enemy to a cup of *Usquebahi* than to a State. Yet I heare and feare that the party who was employed to apprehend him, hath since lost his blood for that service.

D. S. P.

service. But I cannot omit a Treaty in *Spain* about two yeares since, between some of the greatest instruments of State there and sundry *Irish* Papists, wherein it was proposed by the *Irish* party, what revenue, what provision for shipping, what other advantage *Ireland* would bring to his Catholick Majesty, and how facile it was to gaine it; how the *Irish* stood affected to him. It is well knowne to some persons of great eminency both in *England* & *Ireland*, who were present at this consultation, what was their resolution, to imploy two Fryers with Letters of credence thither, to a great number of the Nobilitie and Gentry of that Kingdome, as well *Irish* as old *English*. (I confesse the choice argued no depth of understanding,) The Fryers are knowne, the persons to whom they were to addresse themselves are knowne, and if it had not been for some accidentall troubles, they had been apprehended, or escaped narrowly. If you ask how I know this, Suppose one of the Fryers was as big with the secret as *Midas* his Barber, and for feare of bursting did vent himself among some rootes of reeds, which after made the discovery. The relation is most true. So you see there is something more in it than Religion.

This story
is in the
Clerk of
the Coun-
cels books
in *Ireland*.

I have seene a Letter from the late Earle of *Tyrone*, and the Earle of *Terconnell*, to the now Cardinall Protector *Barberina*, wherein they professe that though they did for a time supersede from their right in *Ireland*, yet they did not intend to desert it. I have seene another Letter from a company of meane and contemptible persons, saying that they had some old *Irish* blood in them; to the same Cardinall Protector, wherein they style themselves *Barones* and *Dinastie*, Nobles and Peeres of the Realme. This shewed they had not forgotten their Progenitors pretenses; but here was nothing of Religion in it. I have seene two Letters of late dated from Sir *Philomy O Neale* and his brother *Tirlogh*, since they were in rebellion, to two eminent Gentlemen of the Scottish Nation, wherein they offer and desire not onely quarter but friendship, alledging this reason, that both Nations were one in their originall, and intreating that they might continue so in affection: I urge not this as though those Gentlemen did credit it, but to shew that there is more in their designs than Religion, otherwise they would have sought other Confederates.

I might adde those Prophecies which of late did flie abroad familiarly among them; as that of the three Cockes, the red

Gen. 34.
23.

Cocke and the blacke, which continued wounding one another, till the white Cocke (whereby they denoted the Earle of Tyrone) came and destroyed them both. These people had their thoughts taken up with something else than Religion. Surely if there had been nothing in it but Religion, they would never have perswaded a Gentleman to goe to Masse, upon assurance of life, and presently when he had done it, have hanged him up, so farre as was in them to kill both body and soule; yet thus wee heare from all hands they used Master Midleton. Surely if it be Religion, it is such a Religion as that of the *Shechemites*, Shall not their cattle and their substance be ours? Shall Religion then become a cloake or a stalking horse for those who robbe and burne and ravish and kill unarmed enemies? Were all our houses, Townes, stackyards, heretickes, that they were condemned to be burned?

This is most certaine, that every one of the Rebels upon the first insurrection, did seise all those Lands which his Father, or his grand-father, or his great grand-father had held before *Tyrone's* Warrs, or before the Attainder of *Shane O Neale*, although all these were invested in the Crowne by Act of Parliament 1st *Eliz.* and have since been quietly possessed builded and planted by the *English*. There is no question, but this was the Religion which they thirsted after. Their debts were great, their fortunes and estates desperate, even generally. They had no other way left to repaire themselves but this. And yet our old *English* Gentry in the pale, are so dull as to be fooled with this grosse conceite, that this warre is onely for Religion. Let them take heed, their Land is the flower of the whole Kingdome.

The old *Irish* have the same pretences to it which they have to the rest, and if it should come to that, they would finde by wofull experience, that the goodnesse of the soyle would much inflame their devotion. What favour could they expect in such a case, but that which *Polyphemus* promised to *Ulysses*. That he should be the last devoured?

Though they have an equall appetite unto both, yet we and they together have been too much for the stomach to digest at one meate. Admit they are confederate with them, have they not offered the same termes to the *Scots*? But they were not so credulous to be gulled by them. My hope is that my Country-men shall buy their repentance at a readier market.

But to take their case at the best, admitting, but not granting that it is a warre of religion. There is a vast distance betweene these two, to plant religion with the sword, which whether, or how far it be lawfull, is no way pertinent to this present case, and to protect true pietie against superstitious vanitie, to defend Orthodox Christians from Heterodox Papists, loyall Subjects from rebellious Traytours, *To breake the iawes of the wicked, and to plucke the spoyle out of his teeth.* Shall it bee lawfull for them, being but Subjects, to usurp the inseparable rights of the Crowne, to trample upon the Lawes of the Land, to pursue the religion established by Parliament, with fire and sword, to overthrow totally the proprietie of the Subject, and shall it not bee lawfull for his Majestie to vindicate Himselfe, Religion, his Lawes, his Subjects? It is true, this war may concerne Religion in the consequents, otherwise I should be right sorrie, but antecedently in it selfe it is no war of religion.

Iob 29.17.

Secondly, it is objected, that the Protestants beyond seas will smart for this, that this course will deprive his Majestie of all power to mediate for them, and take away that correspondence which is observed betweene Princes in point of state.

It will not be needfull in this case to consider, whether toleration or convenience in religion may be admitted, or of whom, with what cautions and conditions, whether it extend to the persons only, or to the practice also, who are tares in the Lords field, how far these tares may be, or must be suffered. Whether *Asius* the Emperour of Constantinople did well, to surcease from persecuting the Arians in his Dominions, upon the humble suit of the Orthodox Christians in Italy, who groaned then under the persecution of *Theodoret* their King, an Arian Prince, nor how far this historie may be applyable to these times. It is sufficient to answer this objection, to shew that the Irish are not called to an account for religion, but for robberies, rapes, murders, treasons. If ever Protestants shall make themselves so unworthy, so incapable of any mediation, *Lucan poenata*, let them suffer according to their demerits, and let no eye pittie them.

Thirdly, it is objected, that this course will prolong the war, and harden the Rebels, when they are excluded from all hope of pardon, that it will hinder all accommodations, whereas now they offer to come in upon termes, that it will make the conquest more difficult, that it will take away all meanes of reparation from the poore Protestants, who are robbed and stripped, and have no hopes of satisfaction, but out of the lands

of some of the Irish Rebels, that it tyeth his Majesties hands from passing whom he pleaseth, and abridgeth the power of the chiefe Governor, disabling him from rewarding good servitors; that it were a safer way to take in the greater part upon submission; and afterwards to punish them insensibly, and by degrees.

This argument is more specious, than substantiall, in truth reason this course will rather shorten the war, when the enemies shall see that they are not like to be dillied, or to be trifled withall, it will soone humble them and make them present themselves with sack-cloth upon their loyns, and ropes upon their heads, as the Syrians did to the King of Israel. So those who have been drawne into action, by feare or famine shewes, may leave objects of his Majesties grace, either for the pardon of their lives, or restitution to their estates, according to their respective deserts, or the favour they shall find in his royall eyes; and yet those be left to exemplarie justice, whose black outrageous villanies have rendered them, even in the judgement of their owne consciences, incapable of all favour. Whole lands being escheated, will be able to counter-balance this summe, according to the proportion contracted for. And yet I think no man will be so vaine, to ask how then shall this great summe be employed, whilst this Crowne and Kingdome are so far engaged in debts, whilst the poore robbed Protestants cry for reparation, and this bloody rebellion hath shewed us how necessarie it is to have some more places of strength in Ireland. If they meane any other accommodation than this, I understand it not, unless they would have us, who have escaped their Butcherly hands to returne among them, and gently to hold out our throats to be cut at their discretion. Who will not rather chuse to forsake his estate there, and beg an halfe-penny from passengers with *Alms*, than after so evident a demonstration of their universall rancour, to expose himselfe and his posteritie to their barbarous crueltie? If they were only thornes in our sides to vex us, as the Canaanites were to the Israelites, it were more tolerable; but to be skapes in our sides to murder us, is worse. No, no, there is no thought to be had of an English mans abode in Ireland, without the walls of a Citie, unless the Kingdome may be reduced to a better temperature and constitution. Wee often see a feaverish distemper ushers in a better habitude of the body. Now is the time when it may be effected with justice, but after a free pardon, that which is justice now would become murder. Now is the time when their sordaine Confederates have their hands

hands full at home, and can afford them no great store of reliefe. All
 wife and flourishing Kingdomes and Common-wealths, have ever made
 choyle to undergoe a present charge, rather than a future and perpetuall
 inconvenience. Neither will this project either give impediment to the
 reparation of those who are robbed and dammified, seeing that if the Re-
 bels submit, they may be repaired out of the summe contracted for, and if
 they stand out, there will be as much more land for them, upon the like
 rent; and yet sufficient left over and above both these proportions, to be
 disposed unto good servitours.

Fourthly, it is said that this way is cruell, and tends not to a reformati-
 on, but to an utter extirpation, that it doth involve the nocent and inno-
 cent in the same punishment. That it were better to offer conditions Deut. 20. 10.
 of peace, and then let the obstinate suffer. I answer with Saint *Am-
 brose*, *Gravissimus nodus, &c.* An hard knot must have an hard wedge.
 When *Titus*, the darling of mankind, saw the infinite mortalitie
 which accompanied the siege of Ierusalem, by famine, pestilence, and
 the sword, hee wept, and casting up his eyes to Heaven, called God
 to witnesse, that hee was innocent of those mileries. So his Majestie
 may justly say, that whatsoever they suffer they may thank themselves
 for it. Hee and his Kingdome are guiltlesse of all the blood that is shed 2 Sam. 3. 26.
 for ever, especially since they have yet time of grace, the red flag is yet
 up of mercie, mixt with justice, the black flag of utter ruine and desola-
 tion is not yet advanced, yet they have time to remove and sit from
 under the signe of the Sword, to be under the signe of the Crowne, to
 use Saint *Anselmes* comparison. If they fall, they fall wilfully into the
 pit which themselves have digged; they have first unsheathed the sword,
 or rather, they have sheathed it in the bowels of innocents, and left their
 carcasses as dung upon the face of the earth; Can they imagine that these
 doe not cry for vengeance? If the same sword take his course about, and
 themselves seele the lashes of *Bellona's* bloody whip, whom can they
 blame? They have maliciously destroyed the good creatures of God, and
 made willfull wast of his blessings, and offered the corne of whole Coun-
 tries for a sacrifice to the fire. Now if famine punish excesse, if wofull
 want follow wilfull waste, if others mete the same measure againe into
 their bolomes, pressed downe and running over, if condemnation merci-
 lesse light on those that shewed not mercy, whom can they condemne? I
 confesse no vertue makes a man more like his Creatour then mercy, but

there is a terrible lenity, a sparing cruelty, a foolish pity, that is, when indulgence to the bad becomes cruelty to the good. When desert and necessity doe both concur, there punishment was never yet accounted severity. But that the innocent should bee extirpated, God forbid, be that far from the Throne of my Sovereigne. Reward and punishment (as said *Lycurgus*) doe preserve the Common-wealth. And these two have two fittable Objects, Well-doers, Ill-doers: The Magistrates care must be not to mistake either the Act or the Object, as Death and *Cupid* are fained to have done their Bowes, which made so many old dotting Lovers, and young herfes, that he inflict not punishment upon good doers (the teares of Innocents are more dangerous then any deluge) nor fasten rewards upon the Noeent. He that justifieth the wicked is an abomination to the Lord. Nay rather it is to be wished by all good Christians, that even those who are not transcendently noeent may find favour, at least for life, and principally those who (as God pleades for the *Ninevites*, *cannot discern betweene their right hand and their left*, but alwaies with this caution, so farre as it may consist with the security of the good Subject.

Jonah. 4. 11.

Charity pleades for pardon, except it be where a greater charity pleades against it. I onely propose a *quære* (I presume not to apply) why the more stubborn and refractory sort of guilty persons, and yet not King-leaders of sedition, may not be removed from their native soyle, as the Romans dealt with the *Ligurians* a rebellious people, that if they will bee sitting upon the *Cockatrice* eggs of mischief and Treason, yet as the *Florentine* said, they may never hatch them, being so far from their nests. In our memory, the King of *Spain* thought feare of danger a just ground to banish all the Moores out of his Kingdome, here both danger and desert concur to make it lawfull. Others who are more apt to bee conformed, may be partly dispersed in *England*, and partly continued in *Ireland*, so as they assume English names, weare English Apparrell, speake the English Language, inhabite English houles, and above all embrace the Religion protested in *England*.

Hitherto the Romish Priests have preserved these markes of distinction, as a wall of separation to prevent an Union; hereafter let it be as capital for a Priest to come there, as it was for an armed English-man to bee seene in *Calis*. I confesse some *Irish* have done good service against the Rebels, these deserve to bee rewarded: I confesse in some places the

chiefest

chiefest abuses were acted & committed by the meaner sort of people. But do we beleeve it was ordinarily done without the consent, nay without the command of their Land-lords? It is scarce credibl: to those who know the absolute power of an *Irish* Lord over his dependents, why did they not restrain them where they could, *Qui d. finit obviare cum potest, consentit.* The *Benjamites* refusing to punish the guilty persons were prosecuted themselves: plotters and contrivers, I adde also concealers and smotherers of this horrid Treason, deserve as much to bee punished as the Actors and Exeuters, or rather more, as being commonly more eminent, and more dangerous. It was *Tarquins* silent, but in that case unjust advice to his Sonne, when with his Rod hee strake off the heads of the Poppies. It was the just practise of the Romans upon the tumultuous *Ardeates*, the rebellious *Cyprians*, and many others. It would be known what was that good successe which was fasted and prayed for weekly in publike, before this plot was discovered, and who were present at that meeting, or privy to it, where it was questioned how this businesse should bee managed, some advising that the English should be kindly used, onely their Forts and strengths be seized; others that they should bee stripped and turned out of all; others that they should not onely be stripped, but Massacred: All which were followed in severall parts. It brings to my mind the advice which *Herminius* gave to *Pontius* the Capitaine of the *Saminites*, when he had the Romans in a strait, either to dismisse them all with love, which would produce an honourable peace, or else to kill them to one man, *Dead men bite not.* But *Pontius* tooke a middle and most pernicious course to himselfe, first to abuse them basely, and then to dismisse them, making thereby a powerfull enemy to the ruine of the *Saminites*. Lastly, conditions of peace are to bee offered to forraigne Enemies; but to bee petitioned and sued for by domestick Rebels. If they desire Peace, in the first place let them deliver up to Justice the heads, and Authors of the Rebellion, as the Citizens of *Abell* did *Shebah* the sonne of *Bickers*, and the Lands, Forts and Goods, which they detaine unjustly, and then come in and submit themselves to his Majesties Grace. This is the onely way left them to obtaine mercy.

There is one Objection more, that the event of Warre is doubtfull, That it is not comely to sell the Beares skin before the beast is killed.

It is true indeed, it is not good to fish too far before the Net, nor to boast presumptuously of to morrow, *for wee know not what a day may bring forth*; And therefore let not him that girdeth on his harnesse, boast

himselfe as hee that putteth it off. The eleven Tribes had the better cause, and did much exceed the *Beniaminites* in numerous preparation, yet it was the Will of God they should be beaten in two Battells. But that was before the eleven Tribes had humbled themselves before the Lord, so it be done without presumptuous pride with a due submission to the Will of God, placing our chiefest confidence, not in our owne strength, but in his blessing. I doe not see what can be taxed in it, for manifesting whereof I onely lay downe these two conclusions.

First that spoiles in a just War and Escheats of rebellious Subjects were ever held lawfull, it was *Israels* Legacy to *Joseph*: *I gave thee one portion above thy Brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorites with my Sword and with my Bow*. The Law is generall, *Thou shalt take unto thy selfe, and thou shalt eat the spoils of thine enemies*.

Secondly, that the dividing and apporportioning of the spoile before hand is grounded upon the same reason and equity, with the judicall Law of Almighty God for the dividing of the spoiles, *Numb. 31. 37*. And with those rules for dividing the land of *Canaan* before it was conquered, *Numb. 34*. So I conclude, notwithstanding all Objections, that this contract is pious, charitable, just, politic, and profitable; And thought I will not make the subscription or not subscription thereof, to be like *Shibboleth*, and *Sibboleth*, a marke to distinguish betweene an *Ever-winner* and a *Grave-digger*: yet as in the body natural when any member is affected all the bad humours flow unto it, and on the other side when any part needeth aliment, the good humours have recourse thither: So let that union and conjunction which is among the Rebels to destroy the body of the Common wealth, teach all loyall Subjects with mutuall and reciprocal affection to indeavour the preservation thereof. My heart is towards the Governours of *Israel*, which offered themselves willingly among the people, *Judges* 5. 9.

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